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DOCTRINAL AND IDEOLOGICAL PARADIGM OF THE CONSERVATISM IN THE WESTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

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Abstract

This paper is an illustration of certain specifications in the conservative discourse in a certain European western countries. Each one of the countries from the western hemisphere has its particular peculiarities that determine the usage of the political operation by the conservative parties. Certainly, the complexity of the conservative ideology study has been enriching with the perception of the most basic practices in the political activity of the right parties in some western countries. This paper consists of a short definition about the conservatism followed by its primary and secondary principles. Then, continues to an individual cases in a three highly developed European countries where as a sample are taken the most significant parties in the conservative and Christian Democrat ideology. The conservatism as a political ideology has been formed in the middle of the XVII century as a resistance towards the shifts and the challenges that were under influence of the enlightenment, industrialization and the urbanization. If the conservatism as a political theory, ideology and practice originates from the countries with foregoing activities, logically emerges a need to study their characteristics. The author's intention is to represent the traits creating the content of that ideology and activity, what are the distinction marks that would be the most appealing of the certain country, as well as to prove the link with the parties from the conservative family on a European level. The study of the conservatism as a political ideology in the modern ideological- doctrinal spectrum would be certainly impossible if there is no closer look to those paradigms.

Key words: Conservatism; Conservative ideology; Conservative values; British Toryism; French Gaullism; German Christian-democracy

INTRODUCTION

The political parties that originate towards the end of the XVII and the beginning of the XVIII century as an institutionalism representing a different social and focus groups, turned into a motor of the entire political development and a leading role of the political operation. All of the political parties and political ideologies determined their own spectrum of values that have been gravitating around their activities, therefore can be determined their position in the political field. Lead by those values, the subjects of the policy began and continued to direct their future political activity and to defend what has been created in the past. The attachment to the liberal democracy, accepting the market economy, as well as the monetary economic policy of the major part of the political parties and ideologies in the XXI century entails the question: Can we speak of the classical political ideologies such as liberalism, social democracy, conservatism, etc? Usually, these types of tendencies have found a strong speech in the European western countries. When it comes to the party- ideological field we wouldn't dare to claim that is a new

phenomenon. In the past hundred years Nisbet through range of examples lists a series of significant progressive steps of the European conservative guard, relativizing of the left conservative classification as regressive, anti- progressive and anti-social concept. In that concept distinguishes: Bismarck's establishment of a social security, series of a reform steps by Disraeli, the Churchill's Laws against the aristocracy, De Gol resigning from Algeria (Nisbet 1999, 6).

Considering the previous aspects we will impose few key questions, elaborated in this paper work. First of all, what describes the European western conservative prism and what are the most characteristic odds representing the content of such paradigm? Second, is there a clear, coherent and visible ideological – doctrinal spectrum that links all of the subjects belonging to the European –western conservative family? Third, what differences we can notice between them and what would be the intensity of those differences between them? The frame of our research would establish by adding additional determinants displayed through the following postulate: What is exactly the conservatism on a theoretical field and what are its basic valued orientations? It seems that Heywood is right when he claims that the ideologies must be oriented on the ideas, as well as activity, so there are some of them, stronger on one field and others on the other (Heywood 2005, 4). Through this prism we are going to take a look into the European right center and we will determine its benevolence towards one level or the other.

CONSERVATIVE IDEOLOGY AND ITS VALUES

The word conservatism derives from the Latin word "*conservare*" that means "to protect, to save, to preserve, to keep." In everyday speech the word "conservative" has more meanings. It can refer to a moderate or precautionary behavior, a conventional lifestyle which is conventional or means fear of change (Heywood 2005, 72). The real, true definition in a political sense, the conservatism as a term goes through in 1789 during the time of the French Revolution, as a determinant for its opponents that had a skeptical view towards the Enlightenment ideas. Despite that, the conservatives were against the violation and the terror conducted by the executors of the revolution. If the etymological conservative construction means "to protect, to save, to preserve," then here is the question – What is that the conservatism wants to protect, to preserve in a modern frame? In such direction, the Blackwell's encyclopedia of a political thought claims that the conservatism as defend of the limited in the political operation has a goal to preserve the ruling of the right, private ownership, independent jury and the representative government (Miller et al. 2002, 191). Kenneth Minogue also gives us a definition that absorbs few key points: political attitude, practical political option that is attached to tradition, customs and institutions that surround the human as someone who belongs to the political community (Minogue 1967, 195). If we pay attention to the definitions, we will notice that there is a basic spectrum of an axial gravity giving meaning to this ideology.

The concept of the political ideology, therefore the conservatism as well, can't be content with the limited theoretical definitions. The academic research imposes classification of few basic values that would put axiological and practice on the same frame. For example, Heywood defines three levels of ideological studies, actually their three most important aspects: a) World view; b) Model of a desired future, a vision for a better society; c) A way changes to be made (Heywood 2004, 85). One of the most significant theoreticians of the conservatism Russell Kirk introduces ten principles that gratifies our criteria: a) public moral ; b) customs, rules and continuity; c) cautious; d) reform; e) imperfection; d) freedom; e) property; f) volunteer community; g) limited authority; h) balance between the changes and consistency (Kirk 2010). Following these

determinants we would bring out few significant elements of value on which is based the conservative ideology: 1) Sustaining, preserving and protection of the system; 2) Country safety; 3) Rights, freedom and citizen's responsibility; 4) Democracy preserving; 5) Public moral preserving. (Gjorshoski 2014, 41-51). In this way the conservative discourse sets its leading base integrating it into valuable postulate as well as the methodological approach in a realization in its goals.

THE BRITISH TORYISM

The conservatism proliferation as a nomenclature for one political ideology and a number of political parties, owns its origin to Great Britain. If the conservatism has its own history or prehistory, that is located in Great Britain. Edmund Burke's work represents foundation stone of the conservative ideology combined with the party's program typical for the pre- election period. The Tory party itself, towards the middle of the XIX century gains the name conservative as an emblem for an ideology that is being taken care of. The principles for operating and the ideological policy that are being set by the Conservative party of Great Britain have more or less become a supreme of the modern parties in today's world. The conservative party is one of the leading parties on the Britain's political scene despite that has won 20 times since 1835 when it's being introduced the parliamentary system through direct elections. In the following text we are going to talk about the fundamental traits of the conservative political party's operation. Although its party- ideological pragmatism is visible for every new generation politics, the fundamental traits of the political operation have remained the same during the time of its existence.

Tory democracy

The term Tory in Great Britain turns up in the XVIII century to point out parliamentary faction that means loyalty towards the crown and have been supporting the English Monarchy and the England church. The Tory's specific traits as term are traditionally linked to respecting the crown, English tradition, hierarchy, the organ concept of society and the obligation towards the homeland. The term Tory democracy some identify it with the united nation concept, that was characteristic for the paternalistically conservatism. In fact, this is about string of economic-social safeguards that were taken by the Benjamin Disraeli's government in promoting the fight poverty and social oppression. Such precautions taken by the Disraeli's conservative government have become dominant role in the process of the political practice of the English conservatives for the entire twenty's century. We are going to mention that some of those laws: law for the craftsmen, law for public health, law for workers and employers, law for sea trade, law for manufactory etc. (Wasson 2010, 133).

What is dominant during the Disraeli era is that the conservatives by promoting the concept of united nation began to cultivate loyal feelings and patriotism, extinguishing the social ideas, that the worker doesn't have its own country. Although, during the time of Margaret Thatcher this concept was abandoned, (pointing out the neoliberalism) the implications of the Tory democracy are being visible in the modern actions by the Conservative Party. For ex, the vice-chairman of the opposition back then, the conservative Peter Lily will declare that the belief in the free market has been rarely accepted for the conservative philosophy and that the country has to play the dominant role in financing the state welfare (Vasović 2006, 118). In the part named

as work and social justice the Conservative party during its mandate promises that will provide minimal wage for every worker, will be created special workshops where the unemployed will be able to exchange experiences and skills in order to be more competent on the labor market. Then, the federate work access will be cut down and there will be a special system for utile work that will provide employers to be competent when they apply for a job, will be promoted the program “work for yourself” (Policy of Conservative party 2011) with easier access to loans in order to become an entrepreneur etc.

The British unionism and cohesion with the Commonwealth

The conservative party of the United Kingdom is a strong supporter of the British Unionism and furiously is contrasting the proclamations that some countries will leave the Kingdom, such as Scotland or Northern Ireland. This has been proven many times especially when towards the end of the 90's in the last century have been opposed the referendum for Scotland's devolution in 1997. That trend of the British unionism continued in the following years when there was a debate, instead of secession, creating a Scottish parliament and increasing the ingerence by the local authorities. The obstructions are strong even today in order not to be successful the referendum for independency in 2015. It was a similar situation with Wells too, when they oppose the referendum initiative, promising that Wells will have the same treatment as Scotland by constitution of the national parliament. On the other hand, the Commonwealth as a repeater of the former British imperialism has a huge role in the politics, not only in the conservative but also in the entire political British orientation. What is especially characteristic for the conservative policy are their links with this union more than with the European Union or any other association (EFTA for example). Despite the attachment towards the British crown, the relations in the Commonwealth resemble with a high level of collaboration in more areas- (economy, development of the public sector, culture and sport).

Euroskepticism

The analysis in details shows that the Tory euroskepticism has always been visibly outstanding although the Conservative Government at Hit in 1973 has begun the associative bargaining process with the European Economic Community. Their euro skepticism is expressed through a visible level especially today when it comes to a further process of the Union integration. Speaking of euro skepticism there is one thing we have to consider; - this is manifested on two levels. The first level are the protagonists on one entire European integration and leaving EU , while on the other hand are the plotters for Union survivor but not future integrity, especially not in the part of the economy and finance. There is one mutual aspect and that is a critic to the unproductive Brussels' bureaucracy (Foster 2002, 33). From John Major to David Cameron there is almost not a single conservative who doesn't loudly fight to the policy of the Union. The latter, as a prime minister, next year is supposed to organize a referendum for Great Britain's concession in the EU. This is one of the key points of the pre- election campaign vis-à-vis Labour assignment of the Lisbon's reform Treaty in 2007.

THE FRENCH GAULLISM

For a French modern conservatism we can only speak during and after the World War II. Elaboration of this thesis will help with alleging the example with the supporters back to the ancient regime (De Mestr, Mara etc), whose positions are distinguished with reactionary, even fascism. Because of these conditions, it seems that today in France the only representative of the conservatism is the UMP (Union for a popular movement). Technically it was formed in November 2002 with the support of Jacques Chirac, as a transformation of the former *Rassemblement pour la Republique* (RPR) is today's biggest conservative party in France. Therefore, the basic characteristics of the French conservatism we will acquire from their party concepts and the practice in the French political system.

Bonapartist Gaullism

During the World War II the French conservatives were Gaullist's troop supporters in the time of rebellion recalling national unity and reform of the regime, regulation, the French tradition and the country's regeneration. It is a paradox for the classical conservatism but the Gaullism as part of the modern French conservatism it's not based on the French conservatives from the Ancien Regime, but on the tradition of spreading the ideas of the Revolution from 1789 and Napoleon's expeditions. This portrays not only the axiological moment but also the pragmatic form. Charles De Gaulle, the founder of the modern conservative movement never believed in the parties neither in the parliamentarianism as a model (Vasović 2006, 532). It seems that the plebiscite Bonapartism was the right decision for its ruling as well as the Fifth Republic's political system's design. Other than that, the concept of the Gaullism as a doctrine is the superstition and French's foreign policy. The denial of foreign troop in France, the continent's back off from the NATO pact, the politics challenge on an empty chair in the European council and France transformation into a nuclear power are just parts of such implications. The ideas cultivated by today's conservatives that France should treat its existence as a world power relying only on its own interests have their own base on these type of policy. The exchange rate policy in France's foreign policy as a dominant decision was quite expressive during the time of USA's intervention in Iraq and Afghanistan when Jacques Chirac was criticizing that step like vacuous. The procrastination of the NATO's missions in these countries was expressed through its own national interests. This continuity can be seen through Nicolas Sarkozy's campaign that supported the project for the second aircraft carrier in the French's navy.

European integrationism

Demo-Christians like Schuman and Monnet had a clear vision about the European integrity. France's interests like one of the biggest countries in Europe lead in that direction. These two leaders are considered to be the "fathers" of the European coalition. This generation of European and French politics succeeded to generate the European peace, to thwart the communists movement and for a very short period of time managed to rebuilt the European economy to be world leading. The European perception of integrity for the conservative discourse of the France's policy was also present during the Nicolas Sarkozy's mandate especially in the cooperative fund for the euro salvation, as well as the European packages on a way out of

the crisis. The strategy for the elections and the UMP's political activity also called as "Project 2012" pays special attention to the European integrity. In the chapter named "like Europe" says:

When Europe wants, it can. Our leader, Nicola Sarkozy turned out to be a key point in the salvation process of the European economy during the crisis in 2008. We have to encourage the collaboration on our continent and to discourage the opponent's vision against European future. This is the reason we have to go even further with our volunteers. Everything will be impossible without the France- German coalition. Our goal will be Europe that protects and unites, but before all, Europe that serves the citizens (UMP Project, 2012).

This portrays the Gaullist's foreign policy perception, representing not only France as a powerful and influential country in the international community, but also this resembles as a result in the French's assertiveness in the future development and European Union's capacity.

Enhanced control over the immigration

The power of immigration, especially in Northern Africa raised the French conservative publicity. In this situation, the French's reaction was visible through a stronger control over the immigration process, in which they requested to obtain unitary access to this problem. In 2006 was brought a law by which the government had easier approach to fight the illegal immigration, family immigration and also highly- qualified immigration encouragement. A very notorious thing was administrative barrier raise in order to halt the immigration movement in France. As part of these precautions was also securing guaranteed stay and if a person wanted to prolong its domicile, a work permission or address of living was requested. It was also established authorities discretionary right to decide which party will be and won't be able to settle in its own territory also called "selective immigration" (See more: Migration information source, 2010). Sarkozy in this way will notice that it is expression on French sovereignty as well discretion to decide about this context. As a result of this type of policy within a year were deported almost 13 000 people for illegal stay or incomplete documentation. The scandal that broke out in September 2012 in the Romany's camps was leading towards that direction.

THE GERMAN DEMO CHRISTIANITY

Similarly like in France, for the German conservatism in modern terms we can speak, also, after the World War II. If in France the conservative ideas were limited with reactionary and even domineering, here we have quite different political style. The entire German conservative thought is directed towards invigorating the national ideas and creating United German country. In disunited Germany many in the conservatism have seen a solution for the bitterest problem – unity of its own homeland, especially through the deed of Otto Von Bismarck. If it's considered the Nazi totalitarianism where the German conservative and Demo Christian thought was sanctioned, we are left to be seen the ideal profile through the politics of the Christian Democratic Union of Germany (CDU).

The concept of German reunification

When in 1948 the Southern occupational zones were united and it was proclaimed FR Germany, the Soviets one month later answered by creating DR Germany. However, the Adenauer's conservative government refused to recognize the new compound subject, proclaiming the only legitimate deputy of Germany. It seems that in this direction the most notorious doctrine is the Holstein's. (Named by the ministry of foreign affairs, William Holstein) who becomes the only person to operate in the foreign affairs.

The concept of this doctrine is to deny the diplomatic relations with the countries that recognized Eastern Germany. Because the social democratic government and Willy Brandt left this option they began to be harshly criticized by their conservative opponents. The German unity was just a guarantee that all German conservative put an accent on. One election poster will be always remembered and that's the one from 1949 saying: "With Adenauer to peace, freedom and Germany United". During the years of war the campaign dominantly was portrayed with national questions where significant part was the re- unification of Germany (Williams 2000, 444). Despite the unwelcome international condition for achieving such goal, in the later period the party leader Kurt Georg Kiesinger and the minister Rainer Barzel had open questions for Unified Germany. Adenauer didn't manage to see his country united, but in the middle of the 80's succeeded Helmut Kohl. Those were the years where could have been noticed the USSR collapse and the East block whose part took DR Germany as well. Helmut Kohl's plan in ten points served as a frame for such process. There are few aspect as key points: first, building democratic society and market economy in DR Germany, second, setting federation between the two Germany based on the right of the German citizens to make their own state and third the German unification is a frame for the European unity and a platform for new relations between the European partners (Kohl's ten point plan, 1989).

Pan- Europeanism

Despite the unification of the divided homeland, the German conservatism, the parties of the right centered block were promoting unification - the European. In that direction, again the most significant was Adenauer and his relations with Schuman, Monnet, De Gasperi and other European politicians. German - French collaboration is entailed as vital, especially in the steel and carbon industry, transport, investments, industrial production etc. The profound of the processes of collaboration was visible in the area of coal and steel but as time was passing by that collaboration expanded in other areas too until creating mutual European policy in certain areas. The German conservatism today is a supporter of the idea for federal Europe, on tight and mutually related countries. In the CDU's chapter named like "The German chance is Europe" says:

The European political unity is the biggest success on our continent. That is a model and direction point for many parts of the world. Since the World War II until today, the European federation brought peace, safety and prosperity. Today, the European Union guarantees inside and outside safety, more than ever. We are convinced that the EU is the best answer of today's modern challenges, such as globalization, migration, terrorism, climate and energetic problems. No other country by itself could not be able to answer these questions. The German population and its partners in Europe share the same

destiny. Our interest is Germany to be the leading role in the process of the European integration (CDU 2007, 58).

Without doubt, today Germany is under custody of Demo Christians and has the leading role in the integrative processes of the Union. Their integrative devotion is visible on an economic –financial plan, as well as on politically safety.

Social – market economy

The social market economy is the basic economic model set by FR Germany after the World War II based on the ideas of the ordoliberalism and the Freyberg school. This concept contains balanced approach between the freely neoliberalism and the social concept of the economic activity, so called mixed economy. The most representative characteristic in this concept is the authority intervention, government's regulations in a certain economic areas in order to be provided loyal competence in the private sector, to be established balance between the high rate, low level of inflation, the level of unemployment, good work facilities, social security and public services. The basic principles of the market economy like the private ownership, free trade, freely formation prices on the market, but *differentia specifica* is the government's regulation in a certain areas such as social and pension security, social help and trainings for unemployed. Typical German policies are transparent even today especially in the time of the newest situation with the European economy and the Eurozone. The propaganda's policies coming out from the chancellor Merkel are the basic to abandon this situation. For example, in the CDU's manifest in the chapter under the name "Social- market economy in the global world" is pointed out:

The social- market economy as a CDU's concept is equally considering the industrials interests, the employees, urban and rural population. Together with our Christian principles through this access we want to provide a better perspective for the people who live in the less developed countries even if this brings us to a major German competence for the German production. We want to provide equal facilities for everyone, either on a national or international level (CDU 2007, 56).

The concept of the social – market economy is implicitly related with the philosophy of the law country in citizens and social sphere. This perception means that we are speaking of active and creative country, not inferior and limited one, ideas accepted and promoted from the German Demo Christianity.

CONCLUSION

The modern conservatism it's a contemporary political ideology that has its own values such as preserving, saving of rights, freedoms and responsibilities of the peoples, regime's safety, as well as democracy saving. The secondary values are foreseen through the prism of the nationalism, family and marriage, private ownership that only tight up the string of today's modern right – centered world view. This speaks of clear, visible and transparent spectrum of values representing the meaning and content of the Western-European conservative family.

We've seen that the conservative parties in each country are displayed with their own unique specifications. Although at the beginning we could have claimed certain ideological

principles of the modern conservatism, still remains the definition that certain conservative ideological traits are the specifications just for some countries considering their needs and preferences around the poll. We also noticed the brilliant examples of the European Integrity and the skepticism, then the Gaullism and the Republicans vis-à-vis loyalty towards the British crown. The German reunification is a *determinanta speciffica* only for the German Demo Christianity. No matter how visible is the institutional mechanism in certain areas collaborating with the parties, displayed through the European national parties, as well as the European conservative and reform group they relief the convergence. This reconfirms our thesis that every country has its own ideological practices to operate. Therefore, this is one of the traits of the modern conservatism. The element- national interest and the nationalism are demiurge of these conditions. The Western - European conservatism as an ideology is pretty flexible and it is not leaded blindly after abstract principles, it adapts to the real citizens' needs, defending the central values. In fact, this is resemblance of all the modern political parties from conservative provenience.

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